1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

114 affiliations are emphasized. It cannot be argued, therefore, that western
174 America is merely passive debtor to Siberia.[6]
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The wide perspective of the observations above, and the emphasis on the extreme coastal strip, is necessary as a background for discussion of Plateau organization since the latter conforms to the general western political atomism. We may now examine specific Plateau patterns.

Village Autonomy

At the extreme south, Spier found that

101 The Klamath are not a single political entity. There are four or possibly
114 five subdivisions or tribelets, each occupying a distinct district, and practically
619 autonomous. . . . The separatism is immediately clear in any discussion with them. They invariably reserve the name Klamath for the Klamath marsh-Williamson river division; all others are Klamath only by extension. The groups are readily defined by the districts they occupy, the names of which they bear; this, despite the lack of any sharp geographic division, such as we should expect to figure in political separatism.[7]

Murdock found similar conditions among the Tenino.

They were divided into four sub-tribes or rather pairs of villages—one, with rather flimsy and temporary buildings, located on the [Columbia] river and used during the fishing season in the warmer months; the other, with substantial permanent dwellings, located several miles distant, usually away from the river, at a spot which provided water, fuel, and shelter from the winds during the colder half of the year. The four subdivisions [were] originally independent though always friendly.[8]

This unique arrangement of pairs of villages illustrates the depth of the village unit concept and indicates a persistent village allegiance.

Still farther north, among the Sanpoil, the village is equally emphasized in the political sense, but citizenship is less stable.

The Sanpoil political unit was the village. Tribal organization in the ordinary sense was lacking entirely. The inhabitants of a village were known by the name of that village plus the prefix "s" or the suffix "x", or both. No term existed for any larger political aggregation, but there was a name for the more inclusive dialectic division. The members of each village were subject to their own chiefs and to no others. The chief of one village, no matter how small, answered in no wise to the chief of any other village. In fact one chief seldom

[6] Kroeber, *Tribes of the Pacific Coast*, p. 397.
[7] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 21 f.
[8] Ray and Others, *Tribal Distribution*, p. 396.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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even conferred with another. They treated each other with respect, but each maintained complete independence.

Village composition was very fluid. A person was bound in no way to any particular village. He was privileged to change his residence at any time, selecting as his new home any village of the group. Families often lived for a few years at one location, tired of it or became dissatisfied, and moved to another settlement. This might be continued indefinitely. On the other hand a certain proportion of the Sanpoil remained in their respective villages throughout life but this sedentary group was always in the minority.[9]

Among the neighboring Southern Okanogan Walters ascertained that theory of organization and citizenship parallels that of the Sanpoil, but practice varies somewhat. They

> have only band chiefs and deny that any man was ever head chief over their entire tribe [cultural group]. Taking into consideration that each band is autonomous, it is not possible to speak of the Southern Okanagon as a tribe, if tribe be interpreted to mean a group functioning as a unified political whole. . . . A man may fish, hunt and gamble when and where he chooses. He may establish himself in any one of the village sites belonging to his immediate band or to a friendly band. Wherever he resides he must recognize the chief of that area as leader, but if the methods of a specific chief are displeasing, he may always move elsewhere.
>
> An individual receives his nationality, not from the place of his nativity, but from the place where he resides the greater portion of his life. Thus, a Southern Okanagon child captured and raised by the Blackfoot becomes, to the Southern Okanagon mind, a Blackfoot of Southern Okanagon parentage.
>
> Actually, being free to go, they choose to stay. Family ties are very strong. The same group often winters at the same site year after year.[10]

These data place the Southern Okanogan intermediate between the Tenino, with rigid village composition, and the Sanpoil with marked instability of population. In theory of local autonomy all three, together with the Klamath, are one.

The degree of village integrity in this area is particularly well shown by settlements of ethnically mixed composition. There is never a division of control, or emphasis upon former nationalities, even where persons of quite different cultural origins are intermingled. An example is the village of Kartaro, situated midway between Sanpoil and South-

[9] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, p. 109.
[10] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 73, 87.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

101
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ern Okanogan centers, in which the population consists of almost equal numbers from the Okanogan Valley and the Nespelem Valley. If specifically asked, a non-native resident of Kartaro will give the village of former residence; but if merely questioned, "What is your nationality?" the invariable response is, "I am Skartaro [ska·γta'x^{u}]." This is the equally invariable answer of the native born or the man whose residence was established but recently. Furthermore, the latter holds equal authority with the former in the village assembly.

An even more impressive example is a joint village of the Kittitas and Wenatchi near the present town of Leavenworth. Conditions quite similar to those described above obtain, even though the Kittitas and Wenatchi belong to different linguistic stocks! The diversity of language does not, as a matter of fact, greatly hinder intercourse; most members of the two groups are bilingual.

Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely; they occur along almost every sub-cultural boundary line.

Local autonomy is stressed throughout the Canadian Plateau, except for the Lakes and Kutenai. The Athabascan Chilcotin and Carrier are definitely aligned with their Salish neighbors in this respect, but it is the Sekani who carry the principle to the greatest extreme. Jenness writes:

> The Sekani of northern British Columbia comprise a number of bands with no central organization and very little unity. . . . The Sekani themselves have no common name that covers all their subdivisions, but only names for the separate bands.[11]

These small, mobile bands correspond to the villages of the more sedentary peoples to the south, and thus the organization exhibited is identical.

Throughout the discussion above the easternmost Plateau groups have been ignored, or mentioned only as exceptions. Their location suggests the reason: Plains influence has led to a tendency toward tribal organization in the true sense. The Plateau is thus split longitudinally with respect to political organization. But before discussing this divergent pattern it is necessary to answer a question regarding those groups already considered.

Ethnic Affiliation

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Why, in the light of these facts pertaining to village or band auton-

[11] Jenness, *Sekani Indians*, p. 5; cf. Morice, *Great Déné Race*, pp. 138 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

omy, are names such as Sekani, Sanpoil, and Tenino used? If the people themselves had no such common names and no common organization, why are they introduced into the discussion, apparently in self-contradiction? The answer is partly historical, partly theoretical. Early settlers, traders, missionaries, and government officials carried with them from the east the notion that all Indian groups were of necessity organized along tribal lines. Upon learning a village name from a native the whites immediately and indiscriminately applied it to all Indians of the vicinity. The term Sanpoil, for example, is a French corruption of the native name (snpui·ʾlux^{w}) of the people who lived in a single village (npui·ʾlux^{w}) located at the mouth of the Sanpoil River. Likewise, the term Kittitas is derived from the name of a single village (kʾtɪ́ʾtăs). In other cases a name of English or French derivation was applied arbitrarily, such as Colville, Columbia, and Thompson. Sometimes a name referred to a striking feature of culture, such as Carrier. (This name apparently refers to the custom of the widow carrying the bones of her deceased husband on her back.) Early attempts at more objective classification frequently proceeded along linguistic rather than political lines. Thus we have the Spokane, but the name is applied to a group noncoincident with the dialect. The whole procedure of naming has been complicated and confounded by the establishment of arbitrary Indian service administration units, and by reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation. These designations have seldom been adopted by the Indians themselves, even to this day. Many a Sanpoil or Kittitas would not even recognize the name.

Yet, though nameless, many significant units of larger compass than the village do exist. Dialectical groups have been noted, and cultural groups mentioned in passing. The essential point is that the larger unit is invariably ethnic or social, or linguistic in nature, never political. These social groupings are far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. Furthermore, within areas of common movement blood ties intertwine the population.

The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect is often especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is small, continuous, and the home of a common culture. The Kittitas forms one such group, the Klikitat another. Each is a single ethnic group, and each is coextensive with a particular Sahaptin dialect. The people themselves designate these units by the dialect

1; Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

101
571
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names. The names are not only denotative, but according to Jacobs, carry also the emotional connotation, "our people." Exactly the same reaction was given by a Carrier informant when I questioned him regarding social attitudes toward other Carrier at a considerable distance. "Why of course we would help them if they were in want or in trouble. They are our people; they speak our language!"

Furthermore, intermarriage is extremely common among members of friendly villages not far separated, though this is not made necessary by any system of exogamy. Walters feels that blood relationship is the principal factor leading to social unity among the various villages of the Southern Okanogan and observes that constant intermarriage and the practice of polygyny results in almost every man having relatives throughout the group.[12] This general condition holds true south to the Klamath.

Common utilization of hunting, berrying, and root digging grounds by members of several villages serves as a cementing bond, too. The particular grouping is determined by various social factors together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation is more or less forgotten and all mingle freely.

In consideration of these facts group names are not only reasonably justified but necessary as an indication of social grouping. Furthermore, it would be a hopeless task to describe cultural variants and distributions in terms of the atomistic units, nor would any purpose be served. We do no violence in giving names to units that are nameless from the native point of view; we fall into error only if we interpret these as political groups.[13]

Tribal Organization

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As suggested above, the eastern border of the Plateau has been subjected to strong Plains influence in the matter of political organization. True tribal organization has been effected, though the village has never been completely stripped of its political functions. Some degree of specialization has developed: the village retains control over local and peace-time affairs, while the tribe functions in larger matters, particularly in war. The situation is exemplified by the Nez Percé, of whom Spinden says:

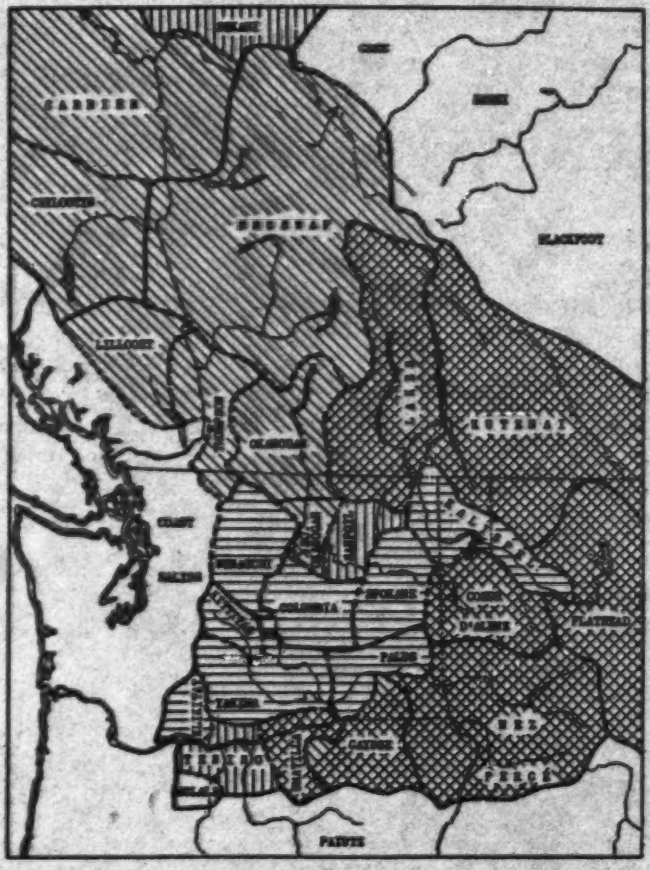
> The tribe was divided into bands upon the geographical basis. Each village had its chief, its fishing place, and its strip of territory along the river. Several

[12] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, p. 84.
[13] Cf. Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 13–19; cf. Spier, *Tribal Distribution*, pp. 5 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

village groups often came together to make up a war-party, but there is little evidence of close relationship in village groups in time of peace.

It would be more accurate to say that several villages were united to



MAP 2. Types of political organization. *Vertical hatching:* strict local autonomy; *diagonal hatching:* small bands of villages; *horizontal hatching:* local autonomy with slight tribal tendency; *cross hatching:* tribal organization.

form the tribe, rather than that the tribe was divided. Indeed, mere common action in war is hardly a basis for postulating tribal unity, but Spinden adds:

The council consisted of the chiefs and the old men. There was a village

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

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council which helped the chief in administering justice, and a tribal council which met to discuss intervillage matters and affairs of peace and war.[14]

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Cayuse organization runs closely parallel to that of the Nez Percé, while the Flathead go one step further in emphasizing a tribal chief. In no one of these groups is the proper tribal unit that to which the name is applied. Rather, each area so designated, as on the accompanying maps, includes several tribes of common culture. The Nez Percé, for example, is actually an ethnic grouping including several politically independent tribes, which in turn are made up of many villages enjoying considerable political power. The specific identities and territories of these tribes remain yet to be ascertained for all three groups mentioned. Despite impressions to the contrary, this can yet be done.

The Coeur d'Alêne differ in retaining greater power in the village, designating less to the tribe. Like the preceding, Coeur d'Alêne is an ethnic unit, in this case consisting of three tribal groups, one on upper Coeur d'Alêne and Hayden Lakes, a second on the Coeur d'Alêne River, and the third on the St. Joe River.

In contrast, the Umatilla villages form a single tribe. In fact, very nearly the entire population often gathers at a single village at the mouth of the Umatilla River, particularly in the winter. The Kutenai, too, form a single tribe though the villages are decentralized. However, the Kutenai Sun Dance is a tribal affair and brings the entire tribe together each summer.

Tribal organization among the Lakes seems to rest on a somewhat unique basis. A large dominant village, near the present site of Marcus, suggests a parallel with the Umatilla. But whereas Umatilla unity is obviously the result of Plains influence, other factors appear more im-
[177] portant with the Lakes. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupy a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travel in circuits, making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they are effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. A habitat of such a nature is obviously inimical to Plains culture; and in fact the Lakes have accepted almost nothing from that area. Thus the geographical proximity to the Plains should not be overemphasized, though it must not be disregarded.

[14] Spinden, *Nez Perté Indians*, pp. 242 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

Tribal organization in the eastern Plateau is probably not of great age. Several bits of evidence point to this conclusion. The persistent political powers of the village and the similarity of the village organization to that of autonomous villages to the west may be mentioned. Also, the tribal chiefs and councils are exact copies of those in the Plains, suggesting that sufficient time has not elapsed for adjustment and integration with local culture. Furthermore, the tribes with most typical Plains political structure are also those with the heaviest veneer of Plains culture in general, yet obviously quite superficial and recently borrowed. Plains culture hangs on the Umatilla like a brightly colored cloak hurriedly assumed and not yet adjusted. Therefore it is not surprising to find the adjacent Tenino quite innocent of such raiment, and of tribal structure. In the direction of the Sanpoil the adoption of Plains traits has proceeded more gradually and assimilation has been more complete. The Coeur d'Alêne show weak tribal organization; the Spokane and Columbia retain village autonomy but show a leaning toward tribal notions; the Sanpoil maintain complete village political independence. Other aspects of culture show a similar degree of Plains infiltration.

Natives themselves quite uniformly testify to the recency of tribal grouping, even among the Nez Percé. They also are quite aware of its source, and in like manner, the source of other elements of culture borrowed from the Plains. It seems quite certain that these influences did not antedate the acquisition of the horse. But contrary to common assumption, they probably did not come with the horse, nor from the same source as the horse. The Cayuse and Umatilla declare that they obtained their horses from the south, among the Shoshoneans, not from the east among Plains tribes. Haines, in a recent study, comes to the same conclusion. The route of travel, he says,

> was to the west of the continental divide, and followed the same route later used so much by the mountain men. It went from Santa Fé to the Snake River by way of the headwaters of the Colorado, the Grand and Green Rivers. Along this path the Navaho Apaches, the Ute, and the Shoshone took horses to the Pacific Northwest. Thus the Shoshone of southern Idaho were the means of furnishing horses to the Cayuse, Walla Walla [Walula], Yakima, Palouse, Nez Percé, Coeur d'Alêne, Flathead, Blackfoot, Crow, and many other tribes before horses were common among the Sioux and the northeastern Assiniboin. It is interesting to note that the horse thieves of later years usually stole from the tribes from whom they traditionally secured their first animals.[15]

[15] Haines, *Northward Spread of Horses*, p. 436.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

This last observation is likewise corroborated by Cayuse and Umatilla.

All elements of Plains culture to be found in the Plateau, however, are intimately bound up with the horse complex. Though real enough, the relationship is probably indirect. Intercourse with far distant areas was obviously stimulated by possession of the horse. It would appear, therefore, that possessing the horse, the Indians of the eastern Plateau came into more frequent and intimate contact with Plains tribes and carried home many of the more obvious and impressive elements of Plains culture. One of these was tribal organization. The horse played a further role in this respect. It not only made visits to distant points possible, but greatly amplified intercourse within local areas. Village isolation was eliminated; local problems were dwarfed by regional problems, especially those of warfare and defense. Warfare itself was greatly amplified in frequency and scale.

The chronological problem raised earlier is now partially answered, if these reconstructions be correct. Tribal organization must have arisen subsequent to the acquisition of the horse. Haines places the date for this area at 1730. This corresponds closely to native estimates.

Village, Band, and Tribe

It has been convenient above to use and quote the term "band" without definition. Actually the word is applied in two quite different senses: one, a grouping of villages; two, a mobile or migratory group, usually small, in an area where sedentary life is lacking or little emphasized. In the latter sense the band is strictly analogous to the village so far as theory of organization is concerned. This type of local unit is found exclusively among the Sekani, and to a certain extent among the Carrier, Chilcotin, and Flathead. On the whole, Plateau life involves wintertime occupancy of river villages, and summertime camping at fishing, berrying, and root-digging grounds.

The band which consists of a number of villages is of quite a different order. Two sub-types, differing greatly in basic conception, may be isolated in the Plateau. One is merely the embryonic tribe developing under indirect influence from the Plains. Its most objective marks are common action in war and the recognition of a common war chief. Subjectively it involves a weakly developed national feeling and pride in the strength of unity. Type examples are the Yakima and Klikitat. The tendency is also observable among the Wenatchi, Columbia, Spokane, Palus, and Kalispel.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

not antagonistic to Plateau principles, but the exclusiveness with which territory is held is highly atypical. Athabascan groups not only claim nominal title, but are willing to fight to protect their holdings against infringement.

Among Plateau groups recognizing tribal organization there is a tendency toward this rigidness of restriction. The Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne refuse foreigners the use of their territory, but it must be remembered that all constituent villages have common rights. The Kalispel show only a tendency toward tribal organization, but they require that a visitor from the outside obtain the permission of a chief before hunting within their boundaries. The Yakima carry this notion even further. They insist that such permission be obtained and definitely limit the period of the permit. When the time is elapsed they provide safe convoy for the visitor as far as the Yakima boundary; beyond that point he is upon his own responsibility. Of interest here is the further Yakima practice of stationing scouts at strategic points along the boundary, in the interests of the group as a whole. Thus the lines of demarcation are highly specific here even though the circumscribed area encloses autonomous villages rather than a tribally united people. The adjacent Umatilla and Cayuse tribes treat the Yakima with similar formal hospitality, but give no quarter to their traditional enemies on the south, the Shoshoneans. These southern Plateau groups, together with the Nez Percé and Flathead, maintain tribal or ethnic boundaries on all sides that are quite as specific as the village boundaries on the rivers farther north.[18] The Klamath fall with the central and northern groups, as reflected in Spier's statement,

> The summer camps are rather indiscriminate aggregations of any Klamath, but the winter locations are so fixed of habit as to give a measure of political separatism to the several localities.[19]

Under these conditions it is obvious that the precision with which a boundary line may be indicated is not a function of similar factors in all cases, but may reflect political distinctions either functional or formal, ethnic unity, concordance, or merely geographical conditions.

Chieftainship

In discussing the bases of political organization it has been necessary to refer frequently to the nature of chieftainship. Certain other data will be added here and basic patterns examined.

[18] Ray, *Native Villages*, pp. 17 ff. [19] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 11.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

171
177

northwestern group. This is shown in the culture of the Northeastern Sahaptins by a marked emphasis upon certain peculiarly Plains customs such as that of "counting coups."[17] Thus chieftainship depended almost wholly upon prowess in warfare; indeed social prestige generally was reckoned in like terms.

This degree of emphasis upon Plains values seems never to have been reached among Northwestern Sahaptins though their acceptance of Plains material traits was equally great. Even the latter may not be as deeply imbedded as is apparent on the surface. In support of this view is the recent discovery of a Wanapam village near Priest Rapids on the Columbia river (Wanapam village no. 2) where hardly a trace of white influence is to be seen, but more surprisingly, even less evidence of Plains influence.[18] In all visible respects this village pictures Central Interior Salish conditions of 1850 or earlier. Thus the individuality of Sahaptin subareas is to be judged in terms of depth and integration of Plains overlay, a difference in degree, not in kind.

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Perhaps no aspect of Columbia Basin culture presents more fascinating and yet difficult problems than that of political organization. One of the most valuable results of a survey of native villages and territories is a partial clarification of some of these problems. Wide variations in the scope of the political unit stand out with particular force, though accurate analysis is greatly hampered by present day confusions with linguistic units, arbitrary Indian service administration units, and reaffiliations growing out of widespread decimation.[19] But one point is clear: the tribe in any literal sense is absent from a great part of the Basin. In consequence the term tribe has been avoided throughout this paper as a designation for

[17] An explanation of this custom will be found in Frederick W. Hodge, ed., "Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1907), XXX, pt. 1, 354.

[18] This village was found during search for material for the present paper.

[19] Thus all of the natives now resident on the Colville Indian Reservation, with the exception of the Nez Percé, speak of themselves as "Colvilles" though they belong to many divergent groups.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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any group where definite indications of true tribal organization are absent. If the *concept* of tribe is to retain any significance whatsoever it must not be stripped of its basic implication of political unity. Yet *political* affiliation of any kind between one and another village of many of the *social* and *geographical* units here treated was entirely lacking. In other words, the political unit was the village itself, any political entity of greater embrace being wholly unknown.[30] Villages, under this type of organization, are not called tribes here, for to do so would not only violate customary usage but would merely involve substitution of a relatively ambiguous term for a very specific and satisfactory one.[31]

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This condition of village autonomy did not obtain in all parts of the Columbia Basin in 1850 or subsequently. Indeed it would be difficult in the light of present knowledge to circumscribe the area where such organization was to be found at the time of white advent. It existed to a marked degree among most of the Central Interior Salish and in a somewhat modified or transitional form among adjacent peoples. Those groups, on the other hand, with the most characterictic tribal organization were the same ones that had most extensively accepted Plains culture. The obvious implication, that village autonomy at one time was characteristic of the whole Basin, would be difficult to prove with finality at the present moment. Yet it is of interest to note that this type of political organization is not by any means restricted to the Columbia Basin but recurs in many parts of the Pacific slope. It has been noted particularly in California where in some parts the tendency toward dissociation is carried to even greater extremes. Dr. A. L. Kroeber states that, "Tribes did not exist in California in the sense in which the word is properly applicable to the greater part of the North American Continent. . . . The extreme of political anarchy is found in the northwest [of California], where there is scarcely a tendency to group towns

[30]Cf. Ray, 9, 109-10.

[31]The point here is not a linguistic one. There can be no objection to an aberrant use of a *term*, if clearly defined and consistently applied, unless there be danger of a consequent confusion of *concept*, which in this case seems inevitable to me.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.

[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.

[24] *Ibid.*, 309.

[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.

[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

we use words of purely English derivation such as Colville and Columbia; or we apply native terms for linguistic units to ethnic groups, as in the case of Spokane. Yet nameless, these social groupings were far from unimportant. Bonds of common habitat, common interest, like customs, like values, one religion and one language are not to be passed over lightly. The feeling of unity that exists among speakers of a common dialect often is especially striking. This is particularly true where the area covered by a dialect is contiguous and relatively small, as with the Klikitat and Kittitas. These two ethnic units are identical

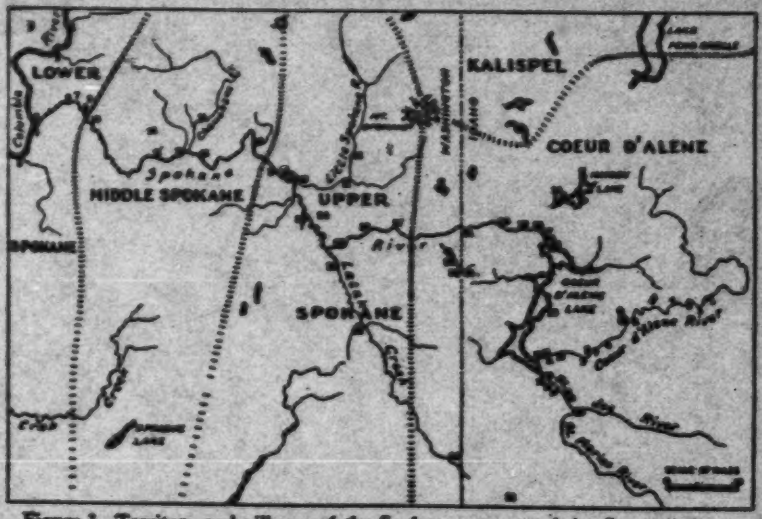

Figure 3. Territory and villages of the Spokane groups and the Coeur d'Alene. See text for village names.

in extent with two Sahaptin dialects, and are designated in native terms by the dialect names.[21] Examination of many text occurrences of these names has revealed the illuminating fact, according to Dr. Melville Jacobs, that they carry a further connotation perhaps best expressed as "our people."[22]

Further, intermarriage among members of friendly villages not far separated was exceedingly common, resulting in

[21] See section VII.
[22] Personal conversation.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

relatives being distributed over a number of villages. Then too, common hunting, berrying and root digging grounds were used by a number of villages, the grouping being determined by factors mentioned above together with geographical conditions. During these activities village affiliation was more or less forgotten and all mingled freely. In the light of these facts we perhaps are reasonably justified in applying arbitrary terms of identification to units nameless from the native point of view. We seriously err only when we attribute political unity to such groups.

VI.

Boundaries between groups of the Columbia Basin varied greatly in exactitude, as might be anticipated under the conditions outlined above. Almost all villages were located on waterways, resulting in boundaries being most definite at points where streams or rivers were crossed. The greater the distance from population centers, the more vague the lines of demarcation grew. Thus, far back in hunting territory or far out in desert root digging grounds, boundaries sometimes completely faded out. An attempt has been made in preparing the accompanying maps to indicate roughly the preciseness of the various boundaries by the relative space between adjacent segments of the broken lines of demarcation.[22] In a few instances lack of definiteness is the result of insufficient data, as indicated below. But during the gathering of this material every group in the Basin was visited and the maps were first drawn in the presence of informants as information was given, bit by bit, including village locations as well as lines of boundary. This procedure permitted a degree of accuracy and completeness which could not have been achieved through reconstruction from notes.

[22] This applies to figs. 1, 3, and 5. In figure 2 the continuous outline is broken to indicate indefiniteness of boundary; in figure 4, which was drawn earlier and is reproduced from Ray, "Sanpoil and Nespelem," only the division between the Sanpoil and Nespelem is shown by the segmented line technique. Note also in the latter map that the Southern Okanogan and the Lower Spokane are designated by native names in phonetic transcription (cf. section VII).

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

The precision with which a boundary line is indicated must not be taken as an index of concordance or culture, but merely as a reflection of ethnic unity. Thus the hunting territory of one group might be quite open to use by another even though the bounds be highly specific. This freedom of use was the rule among many of the Salish groups. But among the Yakima, for example, outsiders were required to obtain formal permis-

Figure 5. Territories of the Middle Columbia Salish and the Northwestern Sahaptin. For village names see text.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

609
619
103

sion from a chief before hunting grounds might be used and even then the length of time was definitely limited.

The catalog of villages presented below covers only the Salish groups[24] and the Northwest Sahaptin groups of the eastern Cascade slope. For the purposes of the present paper this quantity of material has proved sufficient but it is planned to complete the village survey by visiting the remaining Sahaptin groups in the near future. A few village and band locations of the latter, already in hand, are included as supplementary material. In the Salish lists for greater completeness I have interpolated village data obtained by James A. Teit[25] where it does not duplicate my own material, and where locations are not ambiguous or indefinite.

No attempt has been made to procure exhaustive lists of temporary camp sites. Throughout the region these were great in number but were often changed. As a sample, however, those on the Sanpoil river are listed below. Though the enumeration of permanent and semi-permanent villages may be taken as relatively complete there is no doubt but that many might be added through further investigation.

VII.

101
487

Following are notes relating to specific groups:

Lakes: Also called Lake,[26] Senijextee, etc.[27] Native name, sna'itck stk[28] (group term). See map, fig. 2. The somewhat unusual shape of Lakes territory grows out of geographical conditions. With but a single short portage it was possible to make circuits of hundreds of miles by

[24]Except the Southern Okanogan and the Columbia. The political organization and the village locations of these groups have been studied by Miss Velpha Walters whose findings are not yet published.

[25]Teit, "Salishan Tribes."

[26]This is Teit's term; I have followed native practice, using the plural, since several lakes (Upper Arrow, Lower Arrow, Slocan, etc.) are included in the reference.

[27]For a further synonymy of the Lakes and other groups see Hodge "Handbook."

194

[28]The phonetic system here used for transcribing native names is that recommended in the report of a committee of the American Anthropological Association entitled "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," in *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections* (Washington, 1916), LXVI, no. 6. Briefly, all unmarked vowels have continental values; a with superscript period as in English *ask;* turned *e* as the obscure vowel (*a* in English *idea*); Greek epsilon as the vowel of English *end;* Greek omega

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

canoe. The shape of the territory conformed to these routes of travel. The southern lobe of Lakes territory is the least definitely established. Its projection is based upon the recording by Mr. William Elmendorf of a single Lakes village site at Addy, Washington. The information was furnished by Mrs. Nancy Wyncoop, a Lakes informant now living on the Spokane reservation.

Kalispel: sqâl·spi'lam (personified form of the place name applied to the Calispel lake camas grounds, literally "Kalispel people."[39] See map, fig. 1.

Chewelah: sqawi'lax ?, slate·'use,[40] (personified place name). See map, fig. 1. According to Kalispel tradition the Chewelah are a group of Kalispel who recently migrated to the region they now occupy because of a misunderstanding.

Coeur d'Alene: stci'tu'u'mc (group name). See map, fig. 3. On the west Coeur d'Alene territory overlapped that of the Upper Spokane slightly.

Lower Spokane: smɔkâ'lt, "rapids" (village name, no. 3). These are not the same people that Teit designates by the term Lower Spokan,[41] though the territory partially coincides. Teit assumed that peoples speaking the Spokane dialect extended all the way to the mouth of the Spokane river and that the local term Lower Spokane referred to all of the peoples below the Little Spokane valley. But rather it designates a small group of peoples dialectically akin to the Sanpoil, occupying the lowermost part of the Spokane river valley as indicated on the map. The name Lower Spokane should be interpreted as "peoples of the lower Spokane river valley"; not "lower Spokane-dialect speaking peoples."

Middle Spokane: sqâsi'lni, "fishers" (village name, no. 13). See map, fig. 3. The term Spokane is derived from the dialect name applicable to the Middle and the Upper Spokane peoples. In Teit's terminology this group (Middle Spokane) is included with the "Lower Spokan" (see preceding paragraph). Further, he uses the term "Middle Spokan" to designate the peoples of the Latah (Hangman) creek valley and the name

as the vowel of English *law;* Greek iota as the vowel of English *sit;* Greek alpha as the vowel of English *but;* superscript vowels are unvoiced or whispered. Unmarked consonants have approximately English values, except *x* which has the consonant value in German *ich; x* with subscript period as the consonant of German *ach; c* as the English sound written *sh; l* crossed with a bar as Welsh *ll; q* as velar surd stop; Greek gamma as voiced velar spirant. The apostrophe serves as the glottal catch; the following are glottalized consonants as such, t', p', q', k', ts', tl', tc'. Superscript period indicates lengthening.

[39] Cf. the personification of place names in the Nespelem and Sanpoil lists of villages. Note the separatism so indicated.

[40] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 321. In native names quoted from Teit I have changed his orthography only where printing limitations have required.

[41] Teit, "Salishan Tribes," 313-14.